/104 cont./

624 554 622 554 756 sometimes exploits his fellow villagers, forcing /105/ them to work in his clearing as punishment when they become insolent or cause some disorder. In the majority, the religious chiefs do not have a very well developed economic sense: I knew only one Kryová who had enough skill and interest to draw material advantages from his position as charismatic chief. Pe/ José Bourbon Catalan of Amambai. But he, too, exploited his position of pri/ less than the profession of cure, which he practiced with exceptional efficiency, judging by the fame that attracted Indians, mestizos, and even white fazendeiros /owners of fazendas/ from distant places. He told me he charged up to sixty cruzeiros per [435] session, or, as we would say, consultation. It is customary, by [465] the way, among Indians, as among civilized persons, from [171] southern Mato Grosso and other regions to take some gift to the curer or doctor-sorcerer in payment for his services. Among the [184] Guaraní this pattern is not very widespread. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 105-108 in the original source./

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

the Cayuá as receiving trade goods, tools, ponchos, machetes, and knives, in exchange usually for their services in cutting *maté*, but sometimes for food supplied to *yerbateros*. One of the Cayuá met by Rengger on his journey in the early 1800's had been raised by a *yerbatero* family of creole Paraguayans and could say the *bendito*.[84] Rengger observed also that traditional hair styles and the perforation of the lip to permit the use of the *tembetá* (lip plug for male initiation) were no longer universal. This was apparently a result of acculturation and one to be observed especially among the younger men.[85]

RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED MIGRATIONS, 1832 TO 1850

During the first half of the 19th century, some Cayuá and other Guarani-speaking peoples from the southwestern Brazil and eastern Paraguay (?) regions emigrated from their traditional homeland; their route was toward the Atlantic. Although they seem impressively similar in character to other historic migrations of Tupi-Guarani peoples,[86] the migrations stemming from the Mato Grosso area were historically independent. Thus they represent parallelism and are not comparable to the spread from tribe to tribe of the Ghost Dance among North American Indians. There may have been some local diffusion involved, however, as between Apapocuva-Guarani, Cayuá, and possibly other groups. The years suggested in the heading of this section, 1832–1850, are those which von Ihering[87] used to date the period between the first appearance of the Cayuá in the state of São Paulo and the time when the migrations into that state ceased. The beginnings of the migration impulses, and certainly the final dwindling away of these impulses in their dynamic phase, overlap these dates.

Disappointingly little is known of this most suggestive chapter in the history of the Cayuá, as well as of the parallel events in the history of other Guarani peoples of the region. The late German-Brazilian ethnographer, Kurt Unkel Nimuendajú, to whom we may pay well-deserved tribute here in passing, dealt in the early 1900's with small remnants, largely "Apapocuva-Guarani," of some of these migrant bands. Nimuendajú knew these people at the bitter end of their fruitless attempt to reach the ocean where they felt

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 11. A Christian prayer.

[85] There is no way to be sure that the instances of acculturation given by Rengger are necessarily due entirely to *yerbateros* and not in part to Jesuit mission influences. Nor can we be sure that Rengger is applying the term for "Woods Indians" only to ancestors of the present Cayuá and not to other closely related but more acculturated groups of Guarani-speakers. The groups visited by Rengger were, of course, those more accessible to civilization, and contact with *yerbateros* and other creoles may have been much less or actually non-existent at that time somewhat farther to the north. (A member of the Cayuá group at Taquapiri, certainly no older than 50 years, insisted in 1943 that he could personally remember the first contacts of his group with whites. This seems doubtful, since trade goods have certainly been among them for more than fifty years.) Rengger's comments do indicate, however, the general forest frontier conditions which prevailed regarding the Guarani-speaking groups.

[86] Cf. Métraux, 1927. [87] Von Ihering, 1907.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[120]

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[121]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicho* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokwé* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *puĵirão* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *puĵirão* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *cāuī'* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

[120] Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[121] One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cāuī'* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

• 465 648 464 511 The goods with which the Cayuá is remunerated for his work for Brazilians are usually white trade goods, or less commonly money, and it is for trade goods that he actually works. There would be little sense, of course, in working for things which he himself also produces in agriculture. The few individuals who "specialise" in wage work as a result of this modern alternative, *changa*, are usually long on white trade goods and short on the food crops produced in the Cayuá *kokwé*. Such a man may have, in Cayuá terms, a good machete, a hoe, and an axe, and good clothes on his own back and for his wife and children. He perhaps even owns a pig (which, of course, he has no means of feeding properly), or a horse, and probably has other things of value he has received from his *patrão*. This same individual may also have the poorest *kokwé* in the village and hence will have scant to eat oftentimes, although he is otherwise [438] much better situated than his fellows. One cannot readily barter the white trade goods for sufficient food, either with the Brazilians or with other Cayuá. The "market" is not yet that flexible; the various goods are not freely convertible in terms of each other or of money. Moreover, *changa* is usually inefficient from this point of view, although few Cayuá seem to realize it. They are often cheated by the Brazilians, or paid poorly for their work when no [466] literal cheating takes place. They are commonly charged for their "board," that is, for the meager fare they receive from the *patrão* while staying on his property for several days' work. Frequently much of what the *peão* earns he is encouraged to consume in the form of cheap *aguardente*. This, of course, costs the Cayuá considerably more than it originally cost the settler.[272]

• 177 464 465 A sort of *changa* or working for hire is now occurring on a limited scale among the Cayuá themselves. This new development suggests the manner in which modern commercial modes of thought and behavior may invade a culture with a primitive economy, and shows how far this has taken place at Taquapiri. For example, one Cayuá merely agrees to pay another so much in cloth, or whatever it may be (usually white trade goods), in exchange for hoeing a certain area or planting so much manioc. A single informant was able to mention four or five different instances of this arrangement with which he was acquainted, and he knew the terms of two of them. Interestingly enough, the kinship of this "internal *changa*" to its Neo-Brazilian model is even borne out in the Cayuá allusion to the arrangement as "*changa*" and their joking references to the Indian employer as a "*patrão*." The scale of pay seems to be about the same as that prevailing outside the village with Neo-Brazilians, but one informant said that he would prefer to work for settlers because the pay was better.[273]

[273] [272] The desire for alcohol seems to be an active factor in the excessive work in *changa* of at least one Cayuá at Taquapiri. Selling alcoholic beverages to Indians is said to be a Brazilian federal offense.

[273] One case of bad faith was observed in which the Cayuá "patrão" paid his worker in ad-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There is some tendency for the internal *changa* workers to be women rather than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support themselves, with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situation, these women cannot work in *changa* for Brazilians. While some widows keep *kokwé* of their own or maintain a part of the *kokwé* of the relative with whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal *changa* for fellow villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not exclusively involved in the internal *changa*, however, as one of the most consistent internal *changa* workers is Inácio, a man who also has probably the largest *kokwé* of his own in the whole village. Inácio never works for Neo-Brazilians, possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.[134]

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *kokwé* seems to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad working for his *patrão*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to think that the internal *changa* is already a commonplace at Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the internal *changa* serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá wage employment typify acculturative changes which, now that they are introduced, will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Changa work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for acculturative change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá *peão* often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his *patrão* happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri. During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *patrão* in rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the *patrão*, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

vance, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work.

[134] This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *patrão*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reputed one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

464 Neo-Brazilian and oftentimes he may be accompanied in this or supervised by
648 the settler himself. Supervision is not usually necessary from the point of view
• [465] of the Neo-Brazilian in order to get his money's worth, however, because pay
is almost always on a piece-work basis. The only known exceptions are unusual
[191] types of work for which no standard of pay exists. Without exception, the
Cayuá who speak the best Portuguese or Spanish (this is a border region) are
* [177] those who work in *changa*. Men almost exclusively are involved in this type of
[562] acculturation, and the linguistic difference between men and women seems to
give some measure of the acculturation differential between them. No Taquapiri woman speaks Portuguese; not all men do either, and few men speak the language well, but some do.

648 A limited sort of paternalism grows up in the case of some of the longer
464 standing relationships of *peão* and *patrão*, that is, in cases where the same *peão*
466 works consistently for the same Neo-Brazilian. It is usually to the interest of the settler (though all do not agree) to find a good worker and to make that individual feel attached to him. Thus he can always count upon a *peão* when he needs work done. Sometimes this attachment is accomplished by the well-known "continued indebtedness" hold. In this the settler, at the end of a period of work, arranges to have the Cayuá still owing him something. Consequently the *peão* must return there to work the next time rather than find another *patrão* whom he might possibly prefer. Other times, however, a definite effort is made by the *patrão* to create the impression that he is looking after the peon's best interests, that he will take care of him as far as seeing that the Cayuá is kept in cloth and salt, has a machete, and similar paternalistic relations. A Cayuá who accedes to such a continued relationship is known, naturally, as an "*índio bom*," somewhat as in the South of the United States certain lower caste individuals are distinguished as "good" Negroes. Often the settler, or more likely his wife, will "baptise" the children of the *peão*, in other words, suggest Brazilian Christian names to give them. Between such individual Cayuá and settlers there is a limited and highly circumscribed intimacy, a friendship between unequals. Such friendship cannot exist between the average Cayuá and the average Brazilian who usually have very little or nothing to do with each other, though there may often be some mutual knowledge of names and the more obvious personal details. A third to a half or more of the Cayuá at Taquapiri who consistently work in *changa* have more or less fixed relations with particular *patrões*, though these may not run more than a few years in some cases. Some of the rest may work as much in *changa* but do not work as constantly for any one *patrão*. As the time of year approaches when they need cloth or other trade goods and feel that they can give a week or so from their own work, unattached *peões* are more likely to go out looking for *changa* with the first settler to offer a satisfactory arrangement. *Peões* with steady *patrões* are somewhat more subject to the plans of their particular employers.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighborhood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-peons or work very little in *changa*.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[117] Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods (and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão* of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarta* (roughly a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milréis;* a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes.

[117] Gras, 1930.

/35 cont./

843 and the husband. The woman must abstain from the use of beef, pork, and armadillo meat, just as she can not go into the husband's clearing, and in the last stages of the pregnancy the work that she is allowed to do is limited, even in the house. During the entire period she can not break up pieces of wood. The father, during this time, can not cut anything with a large knife or machete, he can not build anything either, such as, for instance, a fence, which would mean the use of cipo or of other material used for tying. If one fails to observe any of these restrictions, the child will be sickly all his life or might even die at birth.

844 No man is present at the birth of a child, although the father stays quite close, accompanied in general by at least one other man, who will be his close relative. The woman is assisted by one or several women. One of them is one of the few old women of the community who are well known for their knowledge in these things. There might also be present sisters or the mother of the woman in labor, if she has them. The umbilical cord is cut at a length of about six centimeters and then buried. It must be cut with /36/ a sliver of bamboo, because in case scissors or knife were used, the child would lose much blood. The midwife puts a remedy on the wound, in order for it to heal quickly. The midwife is paid for her services, receiving a relatively modest sum when she is a close relative or friend of the couple, and a somewhat larger one when she is not a relative or a close friend. [465]

845 The birth of twins seems to be a very rare occurrence, which is not considered a good thing. Twins had been born a little before the author's arrival in Taquapirí, and it was said that the mother had killed one of them. The beliefs concerning twins are not very clear.

553 Giving the name: It seems that there is no definite time for giving the child a name, which, nevertheless, is usually given during the first year of life -- between eight and twelve months of age. On the night chosen for the ceremony the parents take the child to the house of the person in whose presence the name is to be given to the child, when the cock crows the first time, generally around midnight. The parents enter the house, seating

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

224
226 Cayuá sets traps and snares in and about his *roça* to catch beasts which are preying on the crops.

A type of economic activity now quite important in a good number of cases is that which the Cayuá call by the southern Brazilian colloquialism, *changucar* or *changar*, which means to hire oneself out to another for payment in money or in kind — in effect, a sort of peonage. This is the strongest point of economic contact of the Cayuá of Taquapiry with the neighboring whites, for many of whom the Indians work for several weeks or even months out of a year, making *roças* or in the production of *herva mate* (Ilex paraguayensis). (Mate is one of the most important and characteristic products of the region for the Brazilian inhabitants.) Peonage is somewhat seasonal and occasional for most of the Cayuá, although a few men manage to spend rather extended periods of time away from the village during many parts of the year. Although perhaps fewer individuals work for whites than hunt and fish, as a rule more time is spent in such service by those who work this way than is spent in hunting and fishing. A large number of individuals practically never serve as peons, however, and others do such work only very irregularly. Peonage is probably the most direct and obvious way of getting those things for which the Cayuá have come to depend upon the whites, knives and machetes, cloth and thread, salt, soap, iron pots, cooking grease, meat, hats, etc. There is very little demand for the products of the Indians themselves, other than for their mere labor, and in such crude and unorganized markets as can be said to exist for the sale of Indian products the Cayuá almost inevitably come off second best at the hands of their white neighbors.

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The most important parts of the woman's role in Cayuá economy, beyond her ubiquitous household tasks of cooking, cleaning, and tending children and chickens, are those related to agricultural activities. Woman is the burden-bearer *par excellence* of the Cayuá. The female, through the use of a tumpline carrying basket, constitutes the transportation system of Cayuá economy. The Cayuá woman also assists at many important points in the actual production of food in the *roça*, and can, as far as the division of labor goes, in the case of a widow or a divorcée, do almost any work except the heaviest of agricultural labor. This latter situation is not very frequent, however, and merely serves to show the range of the female economic role

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6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

Cayuá Peonage

In turning now to Cayuá peonage, we should perhaps call to mind the remarks made earlier in this article regarding the practice of the Cayuá to "*changuear*" for neighboring whites, that is to work for them for a few days or weeks, living in quarters provided by the *patrão*, or employer, eating (and paying for) the food he provides, and, finally, receiving goods, or sometimes money, in return for services rendered. Without considering all of the many possible aspects of this growing practice — a practice which could never have been present in Cayuá culture until whites began to settle in considerable numbers in the area — we may mention a few of the less debatable influences exercised by the arrangement upon the economy and the economic ideas of the Cayuá.

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It is scarcely necessary to point out that this form of peonage provides the closest and most intense contact that yet exists between Cayuá and non-Indians and that it involves only men. Thus, whatever ideas may enter Cayuá culture by way of the peonage system will more than likely be introduced by the men. Apparently, a number of such ideas have entered and are still entering. Apart from the obvious effect of Cayuá experiments with new plants in their *roças*, new agricultural techniques (possibly), and maybe even new or improved tools (although actually the local whites are just about as "backward" as the Indians, and their agriculture is clearly based in large part on that of the Indians), one of the most important influences of the peonage system on Cayuá economy is the introduction of money or other exchange values with regard to Cayuá goods and services, not only without Cayuá society but also within.

[436]

From working for whites and for their own self-interest and protection, the Cayuá who serve as peons have naturally developed a fairly clear idea of the conventional values in money or goods of their various services: a day's work, or more likely a given unit area of *capoeira*,[22] is worth so much to *roçar* or clear. If it is very "dirty", that is, if it requires considerable work to clear, it is worth more; if relatively "clean", not so much. The rate of payment for planting would also be different because the "*serviço*," or work involved, is

[22] Scrub second growth where a roça has been cut at least once before.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
464 be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least.
•465 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but
also that of different values in keeping with different services.

648 Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
466 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
177 from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
[273] Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating practices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [33] furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá — even the non-peon sometimes — to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
178 for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
437 come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
438 as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the writer was an intra-group sale of rice, a product which is not universally planted by the Cayuá at Taquapiry. Chickens, too, which not everyone possesses, are fairly commonly bought or bartered. There is still a great deal of gift-giving or "lending" of course, with indefinite but nevertheless mutually understood implications. This fact, together with the fact that gifts and loans still predominate, seem to make the sale and barter type of exchange noteworthy as almost certainly recently introduced features of Cayuá economy. 177 178 437 438

But the matter has developed farther — and here there is certainly adequate evidence for postulating the definite introduction of the trait. Specified services are being contracted for between Cayuá at rates of compensation which are fixed and stated before the services are performed. A man (or a woman — a widow, in the cases observed) will *capinar* (weed) a certain amount of *roça* in return for which he or she will be paid so many meters of cloth, for example, by the "*patrão*". The Cayuá still refer to these arrangements with humor, especially to the part about one of them acting as "*patrão*." But there can be no doubt that such arrangements are being made with sufficient frequency to represent more than merely isolated incidents, bereft of wider significance. 177 178 464 437 465

It would be interesting to consider further the effect upon the older institution of the joint work party, with its *chicha*, of this occasional payment of individual services. Clearly, some of the work which the Cayuá *roça*-owner finds himself unable or unwilling to perform, and which formerly would presumably have been done, if at all, by a *puxirão* party followed by the serving of *chicha*, may now be done for direct and specified payment on a basis that is largely commercial. Perhaps, then, the reference by some informants to the "cost" of a *puxirão*, in corn for *chicha*, is not as strained or figurative as it might seem: the price concept may now have invaded the institution of the *puxirão*, which could hardly have been based on any such concept in the past. There is every reason to think that formerly — and still today, in many respects — the basis of the *puxirão* work party was one of mutual asistance, the acceptance of social and reciprocal obligations, and pride in the quantity and quality of the *chicha*, all of which are somewhat divorced from any direct and immediate calculation of the value of the *chicha* in relation to the value of the work done at the *puxirão*. In other words, the "social 177 178 496 437